608 The other rite, godfatherhood, has its
852 motivation in exactly the same circumstances; but it is made to coincide with another rite of passage, that of the first haircut of a baby boy, the son of one of the participants. The father, child, and prospective godfather meet outdoors, in the presence of other kin. The godfather holds the boy in his lap, and snips off 4 locks of hair, if Christian, and 3, if Moslem. The difference lies in the refusal of the Moslem to make the sign of the cross. The godfather then burns the hair. A feast follows, during which the godfather gives the father a present of cash, the father reciprocating with a gift of fine clothing.

604 Both of these rites place the descendants of
614 the 2 principals in an incest relationship. They do not, however, apply to collateral kin, for if *A* and *B* become blood brothers or godfathers, *A*'s brother's son can still wed *B*'s daughter, while *A*'s son cannot. This complicates the picture beyond this simple *fis* system and provides a number of special relationships to meet individual requirements. Needless to say, the local Catholic clergy frown on both these practices.

1 [blood brotherhood and godfather hood, s
cat. 116, pp. 29a - 29b .. Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

846 is spread, the national head-dress, ornamented with
[301] sequins, is placed on her head, and all her necklaces are hung round her neck, to receive the friends and acquaintances who now flock in to offer their con-
[431] gratulations. In some parts of Albania, and especially
[688] among the Moslems, it is customary to bring handsome presents to the infant. As each visitor did her best to outshine her neighbour in the value of her gift, this usage, among the Roman Catholic Miridites, became so ruinously expensive, that the ban of the Church was finally laid upon it. The visitors to the mother and baby consequently now bring with them only an egg, with which they rub the face of the new arrival, with the wish, "*Pashi bar*" (May it be always white!)—*i.e.*, never have cause to blush for its actions.

852 When the baby is three days old the Fates are be-
[776] lieved to arrive and decide what its fortune is to be. When two of the Weird Sisters have had their say, the third speaks, and her decision is final.[1] On the evening of this day, which is called the child's *Poganik*,[2] all the relatives of the family assemble uninvited, each bringing a small loaf, a girdle cake, and a wooden flask of wine. On these they feast and drink healths to the mother and child, the formula addressed to the latter being, "May he have strong legs!"
[777] The women then set to work to make a large cake, all present touching, "for luck," the sieve used to sift the flour. As the dough is being kneaded coins are put into it, and when baked it is broken in pieces

[1] See "The Story of the Child," p. 319.
[2] The meaning of this term appears to have been lost by the Albanians.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch the cradle while they sing:

Poganik, When the boy grows a man,
A weaver we'll make him,
And money he'll bring us.[1]

And for a girl:

Poganik, When our girl grows up tall,
She shall go to the valley
And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal rite of the churches to which they respectively

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 852 [779] belong. With the Moslems no religious character is attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father [608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his god-child;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a [302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 554 Although the Albanian boys have neither written charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely. [779 177]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

Every inhabitant had A
two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military 553
service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Con- 702
stantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe 651
was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who A
was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when 852
a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all 771
children that had meanwhile been born.

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of A
ancient days. 574

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and A
held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the 787
marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more?

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read M
there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set 787
the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in M
vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, 781
into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Byzantine Civilization EH3
Hellenic Greece EH5
Serbs EF6

S 754

the Serbian *intelligentsia*, formerly Minister at the Court of St. James's. Possibly the belief that Draga dabbled in witchcraft was one reason why the populace cheerfully acquiesced in her murder. Near-Eastern politics are more often swayed by old-world beliefs than some folk are aware of.

A 852 [305]

By chance one night in Krsto's hut I learnt that the ancient rite of dedication by hair is part of the Orthodox baptismal ceremony. I was showing my folding pair of nail-scissors when Pope Gjuro exclaimed in admiration that they were just the thing for clipping hair at baptisms. Old Gjuro himself, of course, wore a beard, and his unclipped locks flowed on his shoulders. Hair, as we have seen, can be used to work grievous harm. "The simplest way of avoiding this peril," says Sir James George Frazer, "is not to cut the hair at all." Samson's strength lay in his hair. Kings, medicine-men, and others who were very holy, have gone unshorn, and so to this day do the priests of the Orthodox Church, the direct descendants of the priests of pre-Christian cults. Firmicus (Julius Maternus) wrote the *Errors of Religion* about A.D. 350, and described "men who stay in temples in an unkempt state, and walk abroad thus and never cut their hair, and who would announce something to men as if said by gods." Firmicus was a Sicilian and had, doubtless, been taught by Rome, for he did not connect holiness with hairiness as did Byzantium.

A S 121
δ 302 554

One of the many bitter complaints brought against the Church of Rome by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Byzantium (1043–58), was that Latin clerks shave the beard. So abhorrent did this practice seem to the Byzantine that he refused the Communion to shaven clerks. Thus a deep-rooted belief in the magic power of hair was one of the several odd reasons which helped to split the Church and ultimately affect the fate of Europe.

Rome, not given to haggling over unimportant details, did not and does not object to moustachioed and bearded priests should local custom prefer them. The Orthodox Church makes no exceptions. In the more civilized lands the Orthodox pope now likes to twist his locks into a "bun" pinned up under his high hat when he is not officiating. But up-country I have seen strange popes whose tangled black locks streamed in the wind, and whose faces were muffled to the eyes in beard that had never been profaned by steel: wild men of the mountains with knife and revolver in belt.

H 302 782

Hair-cutting as a dedication of the person is an old Balkan rite. Daremburg and Saglio, in the *Dictionnaire d'Antiquités*, figure a marble slab found in Thessaly, on which are carven two neat pigtails, "offered to Poseidon by the sons of Dumachos," says the inscription. In a storm hair would thus be cut off and thrown overboard with the hope that

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Hellenic Greece EH5
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

H 302 782 Poseidon would kindly accept it as substitute for the body. In this case evidently he did so.

G 302 852 The Orthodox Church, too, dedicates the child, after immersion and unction, by "clipping off four locks of hair as sign of the Cross, the pope saying: 'The servant of God is shorn in the name of God.' The pieces of hair are mixed with some wax from the candle and dropped into the font by the child's father" (Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*). The hair, no doubt, is dropped into the holy water to save it from being used for spells by some wicked person.

My friend Mr. Stroud Read, who has lived much in Greece, tells me that there is a tendency there now to omit the hair-cutting from baptism, the pope sometimes refusing to have it done in church, but that it is done, nevertheless, by the laity at home after returning from the church. Someone is invited to be hair-cutter, and the clippings are dropped into a pan of hot charcoal.

M 852 582 608 The two ceremonies were formerly separate ones in Montenegro. Pope Gjuro told me there used to be two kumstvos (sponsorships): Shishano Kumstvo (shearing kumstvo), and Mokro (wet) or Krsteno Kumstvo (baptism). The former, as a separate kumstvo, is now extinct. It used to carry with it spiritual relationship and prevent the intermarriage of the direct descendants of the sponsor and those of the child's father for several generations. The marriage circle was thus further restricted and drove folk farther afield in search of a wife. Medakovitch, describing the ceremony as done by the laity between 1840 and 1850, says it was done some time after baptism. Three locks were cut in the name of the Trinity and thrown on the dunghill. At that time the ceremony did not form an obstacle to marriage.

A 852 [174] About three years after my nail-scissors had become an ecclesiastical implement I learnt in the Albanian mountains what is probably the most complete form in which the ceremony now survives. It is performed habitually by both Moslems and Christians. The Catholic priests try to suppress this pagan practice, which, nevertheless, their flock considers quite as important as baptism and even more so. A careful study of those pagan practices adopted by one Church and abhorred by the other might throw light on the centres or origin of such practices.

A 852 608 In North Albania the "kumpare i floksh" (sponsor of hair) is chosen when the child is about two years old. He is a man with whom the head of the house wishes to be related. The family being assembled out of doors, the kumpare (conpatrem, compère) sits down on the ground, and first takes another child on his knees to ensure that his "hair child" shall not be the last his parents have. He then takes his "hair child," whose hair as yet has never been cut, and snips off four locks of hair

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Great Russians RF2

to the four quarters of the heavens—north, south, east, and west. These locks are at once destroyed. Handsome gifts are then exchanged, the kumpare giving sometimes as much as two or three gold napoleons, and receiving some embroidered garments or the elaborately patterned knitted socks which are favourite ceremonial gifts. A great feast, of course, follows. The child's father and the kumpare are now brothers, and their children are not intermarriageable till the seventh degree. In olden days I was assured they were never intermarriageable, and ranked exactly as consanguines. Near Scutari this prohibition had lapsed altogether. Among the Pulati and Dukagini it was still believed in. At Thethi Shala in 1908 a man rushed into the church to stop a marriage on the ground that the parties were cousins by hair-cutting. The Franciscan who was officiating refused to recognize the impediment and married the couple. Whereupon the outraged tribesman ran hot-foot to the Bishop of Pulati and denounced the Franciscan for having celebrated an incestuous marriage. The bishop refused to listen to him. He and his friends then hastened to Scutari, and begged the Turkish Vali to denounce the marriage. The Vali said he did not care whom the Christians married. The bridegroom belonged to a very strong house and so was not molested, and the matter dropped.

The Moslems cut but three locks of hair because four makes a cross, whereas a triangle is a popular Moslem pattern (*v.* Tattoos). But the Montenegrin, as we have seen, cut three for the Holy Trinity.

The clipping of the four locks out of doors to the four quarters of the heavens has all the appearance of being a dedication to the sun. Sun-worship, as we have seen, was widely spread in the Balkans. When we find this ceremony considered of high importance in the very district where sun and moon symbols are still commonly carved and tattooed, we are tempted to connect them. That the rite is ancient and pre-Christian cannot be doubted.

The Catholic Church strives to suppress the notion of "hair-cutting incest." The Orthodox Church, by admitting hair-cutting as part of the baptismal ceremonial, has perpetuated it; for baptismal godfatherhood prohibits the marriage of descendants of either party till the seventh degree. "Hair-cutting incest," therefore, prohibits marriage between the descendants of the Duke of York and the Karageorgevitch, for the papers were careful to inform us that locks of hair were duly clipped when the Duke and Duchess of York acted as godparents to the heir to the Serbian throne. Their Royal Highnesses took part in a pagan ceremony of unknown antiquity. You can never tell what a Balkan alliance will let you in for.

The hair-cutting in the Russian baptism is probably an importation from Byzantium, as is also the unshorn priest. A deacon, on ordination,

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

tonsure of his godchild, following the church practice of taking hair from the temples and the occiput, places upon his head a new cap—perhaps once a tribal emblem, at any rate a protective garment with special properties and associations—and makes and receives certain presents which witness to the contract of *kum*ship. It is thought that the hair of the child was offered to the presiding spirit, or the genius of birth, who in turn have been connected with ancestral spirits, inhabiting streams and trees. As a precaution, the hair is carefully preserved; it is not allowed to fall to the ground, but caught in a cloth and afterwards rolled in wax, and either then or later it is placed or buried under a young rose tree. For the child concerned it is a passage rite. It is a current belief that a child is not safe until it has been baptised, and until then it is known by a protective, misleading nickname. The rite of tonsure also ensures its security, partly, surely, by fixing its identity and establishing relationship with a sponsor or protector, who becomes responsible in part for it, and with the society on which its life and strength depend. Weakly children are baptised in haste, and where the tonsure rite has lost its first meaning, I have heard of it as an extra precautionary rite for ailing children. When a child is born sickly, or of parents whose other children have died early, there is a custom by which it is carried outside the house, say to a cross-roads. The father or woman who carries the child generally beseeches the first passer-by to stand as godfather. Sometimes the child is left for the first who finds it to pick up and adopt, or claim as godchild, and thus give it his protection. On Kosovo the child is moreover carefully bound round and laid, its face to the ground, with its head to the East. The finder turns the child over and reverses its position, pronouncing a blessing of long life.

The rôle of redeemer is clearly seen in an Albanian rite quoted by Hahn. The children to be sponsored, at the ceremonial reconciliation of parties of a blood feud, were brought in their cradles by women to the house of the wronged party, and set with the children's heads turned to the West. The

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Balkan Peoples E13

sign of their acceptance was the turning of the children round so that their heads were to the East, symbolising release from death, and in this case, pardon.

The special relationship between protector and protected, which has been stressed in descriptions of primitive society, was also characteristic of the Balkan peoples; the pardoned murderer, the man whose life had been spared, or who had claimed protection or some special boon—all of which naturally had to be done in a special way—was from then onwards not only the lifelong and intimate ally of his protector, but enjoyed the other's greatest respect and consideration.[1] It was laid down in the traditional regulations for concluding a vendetta that the party of the murderer should give a certain number of sponsor children and blood brothers, according to the number of lives owing, to be received by the offended person and his relatives in the usual way. This was not merely a means of securing peace by a sacred alliance but in the nature of a compensating fine. The murderer placed himself and his children at the mercy of the men he had wronged. From the conventions attaching to pardon and redemption the new relationship proceeds. It is possible that formerly a real substitute for the life in dispute was offered, and that it was entirely at the pleasure of the offended party to spare or to pardon the children. Only by a special ceremony could peace be made without blood. The feast which usually followed was a compensatory sacrifice and included a memorial of the dead. These customs amongst the South Slavs have died out; vendetta is no longer an open tribal business, and descriptions of the ceremonies are often lacking in detail, and particularly the important detail of the exact manner in which the *kum* received the children. However, the symbolical act of raising from death is occasionally mentioned, and on enquiry I found that it was remembered in tradition, here and there, unambiguously as such.

[1] There are common peasant sayings of the form: 'Of whom should you ask a favour if not of me, who helped you in the past?'